565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

565 The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
[173] of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

• 181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231] mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

566 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the aménokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The aménokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Iḥaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Iforas were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Iḥaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Iḥaggaren and the Kel
[797] Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Iḥaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Iforas was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[72] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Cheriffen are divided into ordinary Cheriffen and warrior Cheriffen.

565 [51] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [647] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the aménokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

•181 565 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

563 There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

• [181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Xrokam, Serouanout, and in the Xnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241 423] The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaïen form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready [181] to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Aïr, like the Xgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

Tobol of the Taïtok

631 The Taïtok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taïtok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Taïtok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taïtok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Aménokal Ăttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of Ăttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as aménokal.

175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed

[24]

631 The amrar of the Taïtok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Taïtok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ahnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 The Taïtok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the
565 vassals, proud of being called Taïtok, espouse all the rivalries of
[582] their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

68 Thieves to end all thieves, the Taïtok have still been able to
648 keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions
[161] they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Akabli who sometimes nomadized in the Adrar Ahnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrar, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 Taken away from the Tăitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land
131 over which they range includes all of the Ădrar Ăhnet, the Ăseg'rad, and part of the Immĭdir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemăren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immĭdir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ăsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaŭa. They camp near the Tăitok in the Ădrar Tazerzaĭt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census,
[162] they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the
721] Tăitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ăhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ăjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ădrar and at Ăkabli.

[181 They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite,
795] and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of
[669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 [182] The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Kɔudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

262 /107 cont./ buy them. Rice is considered to be a remedy. In the way of preserved foods, one may see the Tuareg eat sardines in oil and jam and use canned milk. All of these foods are not accepted with enthusiasm; they are too expensive, [181] and the Tuareg seem to be truly conservative in food matters, as well as in the whole of their customs.

They drink water, milk, and tea, the latter being of 272 relatively recent importation but in the way of becoming a necessity. There is no need to mention again the ritual that surrounds the making and drinking of tea.

Coffee is scarcely drunk except with the French; when it [273] is taken in the tent, it is as a remedy. Need I say that the Tuareg drink no alcohol and that at the present time there is no exception ot this rule?

Public Health

It appears to be practically impossible to construct a 161 demographic table for the Ahaggar: figures for the years /108/ before 1947 are rare and suspect; they give an acceptable approximation but do not give an exact picture of population movements.

In this field one must then use figures from recent censuses and observations of the tribes that may be easily visited in trying prudently to project these observations to the whole of the population.

In 1948 the count was:	6, 048	nomads
	4, 240	harratin
	10, 288	
1949	6, 013	nomads
	4, 285	harratin
	10, 298	

The population figure for the Ahaggar seems to be fairly stationary (even if one does not rely exclusively on the figures

861 /140 cont./ The child has never been able to have his way in his parents' camp; he has always had to bow to the canouns; if, by chance, he was disobedient, his parents did not hesitate to use corporal punishment -- a few slaps, nothing more; for a more serious fault or for the repetition of an offense, he would find himself tied up like a young goat and condemned to stay in the tent. However, punishments are the exception; a word, a look, suffices. It is not at all good, the Tuareg say, to beat children too much. This training gives the young Targui a proud character, an acute sense of
• 181 his dignity, and a sometimes disquieting reserve. Absolute obedience to custom makes it necessary to lead a moral life which is perhaps more rigid than a religion could make it. To know a Targui and to predict his behavior is very difficult for a Frenchman, who must sort out what is individual from what comes from the constraint exercised by Tuareg society and then must take into account the coloring that Islam gives to the whole.

836 Soon the time comes when the young Targui may go to the tendi and ahals. It is necessary to say here a few words on sexual problems.

Certain stories have greatly exaggerated the freedom of morals among the Tuareg. The training of the boys, which keeps them very often out of the company of adults, and that of the girls, which ties them to their mother and obliges them to be modest, does not predispose to license.

836 There is no sexual education properly speaking; for a very long time the young girl is ignorant of everything con-
864 cerning conception. Casually, thanks to an older girl companion, she learns the essentials of intimate relations between men and women. The young man is initiated much sooner, for he may easily leave the camp; enlightened by his comrades, he wastes no time in starting an affair with a Negress of the neighborhood. The sexual customs are transmitted in conversations /141/ among the young Tuareg and are observed

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

826 832 142 114 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" — beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehot*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. 291 576 [609] [604] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women [609] [604] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

291
565

[144]

Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Ibwrelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally related to the noble *Tayiak* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
437 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
565 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

Iklan (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*.

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms.

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25-30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*),

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 [393] [431] [584] [684] [643] The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer; while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.

[683] For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

	Age			*Colour*	
10	*tilgad*, or *chét awétay*	(one year old)	10	*tibeydegin*	(white)
10	*tihusin*	(2 years old)	10	*titlorin*	(mahogany)
10	*tekkenifadden*	(3 years old)	10	*tizeggerin*	(reddish)
10	*tiruyar*	(4 years old)	10	*tibhawin*	(reddish brown)
10	*chét ezzin*	(5 years old)	10	*tilemlorin*	(grey)
10	*chét okkoz*	(6 years old)	10	*tizerifin*	(metallic grey)
10	*timessedas*	(7 years old)	10	*timengelin*	(dark grey)
10	*chét tahalt*	(8 years old)	10	*tikewelin*	(black)
20	*tirezgamin*	(more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*tizerrafin*	(piebald)
			10	*tiwinorin*	(white cornea)

233 822 * [492] [643] The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 [545] [524] [237] [324] [868] [181] Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amagey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

Ébeydeg, é ti n ami mellen	My white camel, O woman with white teeth
W-allahi! iḍeg ul ifel kem	I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you
Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien	It shall not go away from you to another country
U i ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem	I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again
Ula tahargit d asemmeḍren	Neither in dreams nor in thought
Innin é ham yekk akal ien	Shall it go away from you to another country

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

DONKEYS

Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe.